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"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them." JEFFERSON.

We commenced the last number of our Journal with an apology for its over-tardy appearance in consequence of our protracted indisposition. We were obliged to borrow at least half of the month of September for August, and although but a short period has elapsed since our last issue, our present number verges hard upon October. Our indisposition still continues, so that we are obliged to make up our Journal almost altogether with foreign articles, being unable to write except by an amaunensis. Many of the articles however, we conceive, will be of special interest to our Maryland readers. "The Colony of Liberia, from the Liberia Herald," which we have commenced in this number, will show how fair, dispassionate coloured men treat the subject on that side of the water. It contains much valuable statistic information, and many good common sense remarks and suggestions.

"How it strikes a Disinterested Person" is also worth reading; not as containing any thing new, but to keep in mind what has been so often repeated. As it struck this "*disinterested person*" so it has struck thousands, many of whom have thus too, born public testimony, and still men are found base enough to slander not only the colonization institution, but to detract from the well-earned reputation of these pioneers of civilization and christianity, in that wilderness of heathenism and darkness—Western Africa.

The two extracts from foreign papers containing the views of Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel with regard to the suppression of the slave trade show at once great discrepancy of opinion between these two eminent men with regard to this subject, and the almost complete inefficiency of all measures yet adopted by the British government for the suppression of this traffic. Two ways only remain for the consummation of this desirable event, either of which will prove effective, and none other can—either belt the Coast with colonies of civilized coloured men such as the American emigrants in Liberia, or destroy the demand and market for the slave, by treaties with Spain and Brazil, and enforcing the honourable bona fide performance of the same. There never was a more absurd undertaking projected by man than that of blockading that part of the continent of Africa in which the slave trade has been prosecuted, consisting, (including the Eastern and Western Coast,) of over 4,000 miles of sea-board, almost

every one mile of which affords anchorage ground, and canoe landing, and all other facilities, with little notice and preparation, for the immediate shipment of hundreds of slaves. The combined armed fleets of the civilized world could not do it effectively. Plant colonies—introduce new modes of agriculture for the production of tropical staples—encourage lawful commerce—make it for the interest of the African to export the produce of his soil, instead of his children—and the thing is done. Or, by treaty or otherwise, destroy the market for the slave, and the trade ceases. If no vacuum is created, there is no rush of the elements to fill it. One of these two plans must be adopted, or the slave trade will not only continue, but continue without material or permanent abatement.

In connection with this subject, we earnestly invite the attention of our readers to the article from the North American, headed "British Policy," in which will be found admissions and statements not to be expected in British journals. Every thing indicates that there must be ere long a material change in the policy of the British government in regard to Africa and the African. What will be its next course we are unable to say, but if its purpose is honest, and its measures be directed by wise and sagacious men, we cannot doubt but it will ultimately settle upon a policy analagous to that pursued by the Colonization Society of the United States.

Since writing the above our eyes fell upon a short article in a cotemporary journal from the London Spectator, entitled "Slave-trade-suppression Treaties," to which we also request attention.

[From the Liberia Herald.]

THE COLONY OF LIBERIA.

An examination into the history of this colony—its rise, progress thus far, its influence upon the moral and intellectual character of the colonists, and its practical effects upon the natives and upon the slave-trade, would well repay in the gratifying facts it would evolve all the pains and trouble it might occasion. Although the objects which the American Colonization Society in its most incipient stage had in view to accomplish, as well as the inducements which moved the colonists to act upon its plan, have been long before the Christian and civilized world, it may not be amiss briefly to state them here.

A few benevolent and christian men, looking over the face of society in the United States, beheld two millions of members of that society laboring under hopeless bondage, and sunk in the lowest degradation. Against their improvement and elevation, law and prejudice had erected an insuperable barrier. What was to be done? The almost universal cry was—they must be removed. The question at once presented itself—where shall they be sent? The whole map of America was inspected, and first one point and then another was selected and rejected, until at length the continent of Africa, their father-land, was by almost universal acclaim pronounced the best adapted home for the trodden down colored population of the United States.

The millions whom this arrangement was intended so deeply to affect, not only in themselves personally, but in their descendants to the remotest generations, were admitted to no share in the discussions, selections, or plans.

They were sealed up in a silence as mute and as passive as the land to which they were to be sent; but under a conviction that no possible change could make their condition worse, they eagerly embraced Africa with all its proverbial horrors, as an anchor of hope. This is a brief history of the beginnings, both of the society and of those who availed themselves of its offers. That the whole scheme was at first contrived by Providence, and that it has been thus far conducted by the same unfaltering hand—however it may in itself and in its results be derided by those who overlook the order of nature, and despised by others who are ignorant of its details, there will not remain a shadow of doubt on the mind of any who will be at the pains to examine it.

The plan of the American Colonization Society was something altogether new in the history of human society and human operations. It was indeed a bold and daring enterprise. We have histories of colonies successfully planted at periods which date far back towards the infancy of the world; and we have accounts of colonies planted at various places, and at intervals that reach down to the present time; but in all the means employed to plant them, and in all the machinery relied upon to conduct them to maturity, they were wholly different from the American Colony of Liberia.

This is the secret of the success which has attended the operations of the American Society. This difference is the lever, hitherto overlooked in the eager search after something grand and imposing, the ordinary attendant upon a nation's movements, that has urged the colony of Liberia on far in advance of all the colonies on the coast of Africa.

The bare idea that this colony has outstripped any other—that it has in fact done any thing, will, we are assured, be every where scouted and ridiculed. Nothing is more fashionable than to ridicule the colony and every thing connected with it, because it is so much less laborious to ridicule than to investigate. But we shrink not from comparison with any colony on the coast. Let us single out for an example the colony of Sierra Leone, which we presume is admitted to be as prosperous a colony as any on the coast. It will be necessary first to consider the advantages which Sierra Leone has enjoyed over the colony of Liberia.

Sierra Leone was settled by the English in 1792. A powerful colony of eleven hundred and thirty-one souls was planted at one time, with every convenience and comfort, and with all the means to insure success, which kindness and sagacity could suggest. For fifteen years the colony was nurtured by the fostering hand of a powerful voluntary organization. In 1808 it was turned over to the British crown—made a naval depot, a garrison, and a home for the slaves taken under the different treaties. All the machinery necessary to conduct the operations of government was set in motion—numerous offices were created and filled by well salaried incumbents. Government was lavish with money. Every man, woman and child who would work, obtained it, and was liberally paid for it. Indeed it appeared that the only object in view, was to furnish all with the means of living, without regard to the utility or the value of the returns made for it. A church which now stands in Freetown—a fifth rate structure in an American or European city, was some ten or fifteen years in building, and cost upwards of eighty thousand pounds. Millions have been expended upon this colony, and hundreds of lives have been sacrificed there. It is the offspring and the pet of a lofty philanthropy. It was designed to bless the colored emigrant, and to regenerate Africa.

How has it succeeded? We speak with the most profound respect. But while we yield to the authorities in England the fullest credit for good intentions, we will, we trust, be pardoned for putting down Sierra Leone as signally unfortunate as an experiment.

Where are the once numerous settlers and their descendants? Were the Maroons? Of the remnant that remains, what is their position? Have they grown wealthy? Do they conduct the commercial operations of the colony? Do they cultivate the soil? Do they fill important offices of trust under government? What is the intellectual character of the place? We suppress the humiliating answers.

If the examination should be extended to the influence which the colony at Sierra Leone has exerted upon the slave-trade, the same deplorable inefficiency will be apparent. The natives, so far as all considerations of a moral character are concerned, remain the same that they were fifty years ago; and the slave-trade, despite the vigilance of the police, is secretly but extensively carried on, in and around the peninsula. It would be proper also to ascertain the exports of the colony, and the proportion of its productions to the consumption. The chief exports from that place, are timber, hides, camwood, palm oil, gold, and ground nuts. But these are almost exclusively obtained from the natives. Correct answers to these questions will indicate infallibly the progress of the colony.

What has been the cause of this failure—this death of so many high hopes and cherished expectations? Without taking upon us to assign every cause, we do not hesitate to assert that the inefficiency of the colony for the purposes designed by its founders and patrons is, up to this time, owing in part, to the method and constitution of former local governments.

Until recently, throughout every department of the government, the offices were almost exclusively filled by those who had no permanent interest in the colony. The permanent residents, settlers, Maroons and liberated Africans, were almost systematically excluded from any share in the government. They were thrown quite in the back ground. All laudable ambition suppressed, every noble and manly aspiration smothered. There was no scope for that self-confidence and self-respect, the offspring of a feeling of equality, and which is so necessary to an honorable course.

Inferior in every thing, in intellect, in pecuniary resources, and in official power, to another class amongst them, they gradually settled down to the position of obsequious attendants, until the grades of society founded upon color, became as marked and distinct as in the northern States of America. It is exhiliarating, however, to find that a change is taking place in this respect, in Sierra Leone. There appears to be a growing disposition on the part of the Europeans now resident in that colony, to admit the colonists to a share in the management of affairs, and to meet them on terms of civil equality. The different missions there are prosecuting their heaven-born enterprise with a laudable energy; and the efforts and plans of the Wesleyan Mission especially, are entitled to the highest praise, and henceforth the movement of the colony must be onward towards the point first aimed at by its patrons. We trust the revolution thus set on foot will be completed.

The American Colonization Society commenced active operations in 1820 with only eighty-eight emigrants. In 1821, forty-five more arrived at Sierra Leone. In 1822, the remnant of these two companies removed to Cape Mesurado. They had one white agent amongst them as chief superintendent of the colony. Small annual immigrations continued to arrive, but such in the first years of the colony was the fatality of the climate and the number of casualties, these importations served rather to keep up the original number than to increase it. The colonists were early warned against the delusive expectation of governmental patronage; they were constantly exhorted to rely upon their own resources, and their own unaided energies. A plan of government was formed and committed in all its details, almost entirely to the hands of the colonists. The agent amongst them was rather

an adviser than a controller. Every thing in the history of the past taught them the folly of looking back to the land whence they had come out. The assistance afforded them by the Society, extended no further than to the purchase of land, and a meagre supply of articles of necessity.

The colonists, thus thrown upon their own resources, felt their responsibility. They saw at once that their destinies were in their own hands—that to falter or to hesitate, was to sink. It was in the nature of their peculiar circumstances to inspire with ardor and to call forth into active exercise all their ingenuity and judgment. In all their regulations, civil and political—in all their relations with the natives, they looked not merely at temporary advantages, but chiefly at permanent results. In fact, they saw that in order to rear a solid and durable edifice, they must dig a broad and deep foundation. Having all their hopes staked upon the success of the experiment—chained to the place by circumstances entirely beyond their control, they cheerfully resigned present advantages, when, temporary and limited in themselves, they exerted an unfavorable influence upon future prosperity. Hence they became at an early period of the colony most uncompromising enemies of the slave trade: and although we will not assert that this traffic has never found an advocate amongst us, nor that some few has not criminally abetted it; yet we do not hesitate to challenge the instance of another colony, in the vicinity of which it is so completely crippled. They saw that this trade, the scourge of the natives, would prove a curse to the colony, and effectually prevent its improvement; they therefore determined to put it down at all hazard. Wherever they obtained a right to do so, they beat down the baracoon, knocked the chain from the slave, and proclaimed liberty to the captive. The natives began to understand the nature of the colonial institutions, and regarding the colony as an asylum, thousands of helpless and oppressed sought refuge within its borders. The colonists gladly hailed them as important accessions to their strength, and encouraged them in all the pursuits of an honorable life.

The stale prediction of those who oppose our elevation has been—that we would be found incapable of self-government. Pausing here only to remark that Africa with its hundred millions, (every where possessing a government and laws) has ever been a standing refutation of this malignant vaticination; as if guided by Heaven, the American Colonization Society at once hit upon an expedient that will, we trust, effectually wrest this weapon from the hands of our enemies. The government was at once lodged in the hands of the people. The idea of government in Liberia will be ridiculed by those in whose minds pompous titles and fat salaries are inseparably connected with good government. We will not argue to so obvious an error, nor cite instances to show that anarchy and misrule have generally been in proportion to the elevation of the governing above the governed. We will only invite an examination of our social, civil, and political order, our legislature and our halls of justice. This state of things is the result of early habits of self-government—of laws made and executed by men whose last hope was involved in the experiment. Society here has never been (and God grant it may never be) split into two orders—one to govern, the other to be governed; the one dominant, the other suppliant. Political equality elevates and expands the mind and nerves the arm, servility enervates both. That people will be most incapable of self-government that is longest debarred from it.

(*Concluded in our next.*)

(From the New Orleans Bulletin.)

HOW IT STRIKES A DISINTERESTED PERSON.

LIBERIA.

Messrs. Editors.—As frequent inquiries have been made of me, since the arrival of the bark *Eleanor* (under my command) in this port, on the 13th April, from Monrovia, Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, by both white and coloured men, in relation to that part of Africa, its climate, soil, agriculture and commerce—the situation of the colonies planted there by that great and philanthropic association, "the American Colonization Society" of the city of Washington, District of Columbia—and especially having been inquired of by many persons of colour, the friends and acquaintances of those persons who were liberated and sent from this place to that great country by Mr. John McDonogh of this city, whether I have seen them (the said freedmen of Mr. McDonogh,) how they were, what they were occupied in, what were their prospects of happiness and prosperity there, whether they were pleased and satisfied with their prospects and with the country, and how it would bear a comparison with this country? I beg leave, in consequence, to say, through your paper, in reply to those numerous inquiries, and for the information of all who feel an interest therein, that it is one of the most beautiful countries I have ever set my eyes on; that it possesses a rich and inexhaustible soil; that the climate is one of the finest on earth for the black man, and that its commerce, both of import and export, is considerable, is rapidly increasing, and must be in a few years of vast importance. That the colonies planted on that coast by the American Colonization Society, are well organized, moral, happy, and industrious communities, who govern themselves as a federal republic, electing their own officers, and framing their own laws; living under their own fig-tree and vine, none to make them afraid. They have several very respectable towns, (the capital being Monrovia,) the houses generally are built of brick or stone, with several stone churches, a state house, forts, &c. &c. Agriculture is rapidly advancing in the colony, both coffee and sugar being now cultivated on a large scale; and with industry, a man can enrich himself in a very short space of time, in either the pursuits of agriculture, commerce, or the handicraft arts. Perhaps, in no part of the world, can fortunes be as easily acquired as in that part of Africa; for several individuals who some ten or twelve years since were slaves in Maryland and Virginia, but manumitted and sent there, are now rich men, being worth thirty and forty thousand dollars each. That the present colonies of Liberia are destined to become a great, flourishing, and powerful nation, I am fully convinced. Of the freedmen of Mr. McDonogh, I have to state, that I have seen them all, and found them in the enjoyment of health, having had no sickness since their arrival in the colony; that I have dined frequently with them, in company with the officers of the American navy, the Governor of the colony, and other respectable citizens of Monrovia; that they informed me they were happy, (their only source of regret arose from their separation from their master and benefactor, of whom they would never speak but with tears, and to whom they are devoted by love, which appears to have taken possession of their souls, and has no bounds.) They live well, have plenty of every thing around them, and have fine plantations. They are highly respected for their talents and moral worth, and are fast amassing fortunes; some of them pursuing commerce, others agriculture, and others the mechanical arts. When I inquired if they wished to return to Louisiana, they replied "we would willingly cross the ocean to see our master once more before we died, but for all things else, we would

not change the country where we are for any other on earth; there is no country to be compared to this." And I fully agree in opinion with them, that it is one of the finest parts of the earth.

Wm. M. Hanbury.

New Orleans, *April* 20, 1844.

NEW PLANS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

On Thursday, the 25th of July, in the British House of Lords, the Earl of Aberdeen laid on the table copies of instructions recently prepared for the naval officers in the suppression of the slave-trade; and made a statement on the subject. On coming into office he found the instructions to naval officers very inadequate; often contradictory and inconsistent, and not always conformable to public law. As fresh treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade were concluded, they were sent to the officers on the service, unaccompanied by explanation or further instructions. He therefore appointed a commission—consisting of Dr. Lushington, Mr. Bandinell, of the Foreign office, Captain Denman, and Mr. Ratherhay, of Doctors' Commons—to revise the whole subject; and the result of their labours was a complete body of instructions. They were composed of different parts, and applied to different objects; and, in addition to the instructions, every treaty on the slave-trade was given, with a digest of those treaties, the peculiarities of which were pointed out, with specific directions applicable to each treaty; the endeavour having been to provide for every difficulty. He adverted to the new plans of cruising. He did not propose to enter into any lengthened view of the progress that had been made by this country in the suppression of the slave-trade; he might, however, just mention, that notwithstanding the unceasing exertions and the great sacrifices made by this country, their work was still very imperfect; and, although much had been done, still they were far from arriving at a completely successful result.

It appeared, from the first year with regard to which they had the best accounts on this subject, down to a recent period, that about the same number of slaves continued to be imported into the American colonies. The number of 100,000 slaves annually appeared to have been exported from Africa down to a recent period. In the last three years, the average had been 28,000; in 1842 it was as low as 17,000; but last year it had risen again to 38,000. During the government of Cuba by General Valdez, who resigned rather than relax his efforts to suppress the traffic, very few slaves were imported into that island; but the slave-trade interest of Spain was too strong for him.

Had Spain and Brazil acted in good faith, the trade might have been annihilated. Lord Aberdeen described other countries—Portugal, France, and the United States—as observing the treaties better. He detailed the new plan of operations on the African coast:—

It had always appeared to him that the proper places to watch for slave-ships would be those places where slaves are to be procured, on the coast of Africa; and, having consulted with Captain Denman and other officers of great experience on the coast of Africa, he had determined to have the greatest possible increase of force on that coast, with a view of preventing any export whatever of negroes. Difficult as this undertaking might appear, yet they had the opinion of those best acquainted with the service on the coast, and all agreed as to the practical effect certain to follow from the means they proposed. The force on the coast of Brazil would be diminished, ships being wanted elsewhere; but some force would be kept up there

to intercept those who might possibly escape from the cruisers on the coast of Africa; though from the plan they adopted, and from the proper disposition of their forces, they did believe that it would be impossible for a single ship to escape from the coast of Africa. They did not, he begged to observe, mean to confine themselves to the western coast of Africa alone. By no means; for there would be a sufficient number of cruisers allotted to the eastern coast also. That was a coast more easily watched, and where ships were required of so much larger size, that their cruisers he was sure, would be able to act with the greatest possible success.

The Earl of Minto and Lord Colchester signified approval.

The Earl of Clarendon expressed satisfaction at Lord Aberdeen's speech and statements respecting the good faith of several foreign powers, and commended some portions of the plan; but he feared that the new regulations would not be more successful than any previous steps had proved.

Lord Brougham applauded the government.

SIR ROBERT PEEL AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

In a debate, on he 16th of July, in the British House of Commons, on the subject of the suppression of the foreign slave trade, Sir Robert Peel held the following language:—

"It can clearly be shown that these are the two only countries, Spain and Brazil, that lend a sanction to the continuance of the traffic, and that they are the only two countries that derive a profit from it. They have the power to suppress it, and without their goodwill, whatever exertions we may make—whatever sacrifices we may impose upon the people of this country—it is nearly impossible for us, almost unaided as I think we are in this respect, in active exertions to suppress the slave-trade on the coasts of the Brazils and Cuba, effectually to succeed. We can do much, no doubt, towards its suppression; but perfect success we cannot hope for, except with the co-operation of the Spanish and Brazilian governments, who, whatever the gallantry of our sailors may achieve, and whatever the public burdens we may be willing to incur, are constantly counteracting and defeating, and by the connivance of the local authorities preventing the success of our efforts. It would be easy to show that Spain and Brazil might, if they chose, suppress this trade. Brazil made the attempt in 1840 and 1841, when the authorities interfered for the purpose of suppressing it, and the effect was immediate. During that period the government of Brazil, and the authorities acting under the direction of that government, did actually interfere and did discourage this traffic, and there was consequently a considerable diminution in the number of slaves imported into Brazil. With respect to Cuba, the experience of the last two years proves conclusively that it is in the power of an honest and active governor—setting his face with determination against the continuance of that traffic, notwithstanding all the incitements which avarice and love of gain may interpose—to take effectual measures for its suppression, (hear, hear.) I do think it greatly to the credit of the person who lately exercised power in Spain—I mean General Espartero—it is greatly to his cridit, and to the credit of the government with which he was connected, that he appointed to take command in Cuba (hear, hear) an honourable and enlightened man like Gen. Valdez, (cheers) who refused to participate in the gains which his predecessors had profited by for conniving at this traffic, and who called together the holders of estates and the merchants in Cuba, and told them that the orders of his government and his own sense of duty compelled him to discourage this

traffic, and that discourage it he would. And for a time, as long as it was possible for him to do so, he adhered to that determination. The result was most extraordinary during the period that General Valdez administered the functions of the government of Cuba. In the year 1842 the importation of slaves did not exceed 3,100 men; when he assumed the government, the importations were, I believe, about 14,000. If I recollect right, in the very first year of his government a diminution took place, and the number imported was but 8,000; and in 1842, the last year of his government, the number was only 3,000. Thus I have attempted to show that when in 1840 and 1841 Brazil honestly exerted herself, there was a great diminution in the traffic in slaves. I have attempted to show that when there was an active and honest governor, determined to perform his duty, fulfilling his engagements towards this country, and acting on the instructions he received from the honest and enlightened government of which he was the officer, that then, as far as Cuba was concerned, the slave-trade was effectually suppressed. Now these are decisive proofs that without the concurrence of the national and local authorities in Brazil and Cuba success is unattainable, but that with their concurrence it is possible and certain. *I, therefore, charge the governments of those countries for the whole of the responsibility and for the whole of the sufferings which are now endured in consequence of the slave-trade* (cheers.) I do hope then that that part of the statement made by the noble lord, and confirmed by his successors in the administration, will have some effect. I do hope that the governments and people of these countries will, from a regard to humanity and the dictates of religion, feel the grievous responsibility which has now devolved upon them—will feel that the eyes of Europe and of the whole civilized world are on them, and that they are the responsible parties for the continuance of the traffic. But if these higher considerations and purer motives do not prevail, let me warn them of the danger they are incurring—let me advise the government of Spain to look well at the present condition of Cuba. That country is in such a state that the tenure of power is most precarious. There is a feeling of determination on the part of the slave population to rid themselves of the evils which they are enduring, and which makes suffering and death light considerations in the balance (hear, hear.) Torture has been applied under the sanction of the authorities—confessions have been made, and those confessions implicate almost the whole population (hear, hear.) It is not a dissatisfaction with any particular law; it is not the amount of labor which is required to be performed in this or that place—it is the denial of the right of man to hold his fellow creature as a slave which has spread throughout the whole of the black population of that country, exceeding vastly as they do, in numbers and physical strength, the whites by whom they are kept in check, and affording conclusive evidence that there is a settled deep determination to emancipate themselves from such a state of slavery as that to which they have been subjected.

"Those who have taken the most active part in this conspiracy are those who have been most recently brought from the coasts of Africa—men who are unenlightened by any education, and without the means of combination and conspiracy which must exist amongst those who have received some education. Surely, then, if purer and higher motives fail to influence the government of Spain, those of interest and policy must force themselves on its consideration (cheers.) What I am stating is the truth, and nothing but the truth. It is confirmed by insurrections which are suppressed only by military force, and by the subsequent enforcement of the law (for I presume it is the law in Cuba,) in a manner which I will not detail, and which, although it may insure temporary obedience, can only in its ultimate results

tend to confirm the impressions we have held (hear, hear.) Therefore, sir, I do make this appeal, in the face of the British parliament, to those two countries which are responsible for the continuance of this traffic, not only by considerations of duty and regard to the positive will and order of the Supreme Being we all worship, but also from a regard to the most ordinary considerations of policy and self-interest."

(From the North American.)

BRITISH POLICY.

We noticed recently the views of a free trader and advocate of emancipation, as given in the *whig radical* Westminster Review, in regard to the condition and prospects of the slave trade, and of the recently emancipated black population in the West Indies. We will now do the same with regard to the opinions of a decided advocate of the colonial system, and opponent of free trade, which we find in the last number of the *tory* Blackwood, and doubt not our readers will be as much surprised as we have been to find how nearly they arrive at the same conclusions.

Mr. McQueen, the writer in Blackwood, says, that after Great Britain having expended twenty millions of pounds in attempting to extinguish the slave trade, during the last thirty-six years, that traffic, instead of being destroyed, has been trebled, "while Africa has reaped no advantage whatever." She has, besides, expended twenty millions in abolishing slavery in the West Indies, yet that measure has been so little successful, that one hundred millions of fixed capital invested in those colonies, stands on the brink of destruction, while, as he says, "*in addition to former sums*, the *people of Great Britain have, from the enhanced prices of produce, paid during the last six or seven years, ten millions more, which have gone chiefly, if not wholly, into the pockets of the negro labourers, in excessive high wages, the great evil of the West Indies.*"

The sum and substance of this is, that the emancipated labourers of the West Indies have preferred play to work; and as they were protected by the differential duty of thirty-nine shillings, or nearly ten dollars per hundred weight on sugar, they have been enabled to follow their inclinations. With every diminution in the amount of produce exported, there was an increase of prices at which it was sold, by which the taxation of the free white labourer of England was increased, to enable the free coloured man of Jamaica to dispense with labour. Although we doubt the propriety of thus *robbing* Peter to pay Paul—for it must be remembered that but a very small portion of the labouring classes of Great Britain exercise the right of suffrage, or have any control over the makers of the laws by which these contributions are enforced,—yet we should not so much object to it, if we could see that the measures adopted by that country, and carried out at such enormous expense, had been or were likely to be, productive of real advantage as regards the diminution of the slave trade, or an improvement in the condition of the people of the West Indies.

Mr. McQueen says, that the effect of the reduction in the amount of produce is so great, that England is not able to supply Europe, as she formerly did, "in some of the most important articles," but has barely sufficient to supply her own wants.

"*While the whole of her colonial possessions, East, West, North and South, are at this moment supplied with—and as respects the article of sugar are consuming—foreign slave produce, brought direct, or refined in bond, exported and sold in the colonies as cheap, if not really cheaper, than British Muscavado, the produce of those colonies!*"

Here we see that the effect of the emancipation of the slaves of Jamaica, Barbadoes and Antigua, has been to increase the demand for the products of Cuba and Brazil, and to offer direct encouragement to the slave trade, and thus, after an expenditure of two hundred millions of dollars, affairs are really, we fear, in a worse condition than they were twenty years since.

Seeing that the increase of the slave trade, and of the amount of the produce of slave labour, is accompanied by a great increase in the markets which are thus given to "the manufacturers of the countries," while the productions and commerce of the British colonies are steadily decreasing, and with this, the market for British manufactures, Mr. McQueen is satisfied that the time has come for applying "an effectual remedy," which is to be found in the application of free labour *in Africa.*

During nearly the whole period that has elapsed since England was committed to the anti-slavery faith, she has spared neither pains nor expense to induce others to follow in her footsteps. It was not sufficient that a nation should have abolished the trade so far as regarded her own subjects or citizens, nor that she should have adopted her own course as regards the possible or probable future emancipation of the slaves already existing, but it was required that she should adopt the measures, wise or unwise, that England chose to adopt—and if she did not, if she preferred to follow her own course—no language was too severe to be applied to her. And yet it is now *admitted* on all sides, that the whole expenditure incurred for the suppression of the slave trade has been thrown away, that the slave trade has increased rapidly, while the destruction of life has been more than trebled. It is *admitted* that labour has become far less productive, and that a heavy tax has been imposed upon the poor labourer of Great Britain by this measure of emancipation. It is *admitted* on all sides that this tax must be removed. It is *admitted* that it is nearly impossible that cultivation can be carried on in the British Islands after it shall have been removed; and we fear greatly that it will soon be necessary *to admit* that the only effect resulting from a contribution of thirty millions has been, to deteriorate the condition of all classes throughout those Islands, and that the whole course of Great Britain in regard to this matter has been erroneous.

While thus employed in inducing other nations, by dint of threats and persuasions, to follow her example, language has been too severe to be applied to the colonization system of the United States; and yet, after all this expenditure—all the threats—all the persuasions, and all the abuse, it is now discovered that the only method to root out slavery and the slave-trade, is that of applying free labor within Africa, *under British control,* to the production of sugar, cotton and coffee, or, in other words, to the establishment of an extensive system of colonization.

These are lamentable facts and conclusions. But the facts we do not make, and the conclusions we cannot help. The dire evil of slavery we deplore as deeply as any man. Under any form, we regard it as an evil which must ultimately give way before the advance of truth and justice. But whatever be our faith or our hope in the matter, we do not feel at liberty, as a public journalist, to withhold the statements which we have made above, upon authority which seems unquestionable. We should rejoice most heartily to receive the proof, could it be afforded, that the course of Great Britain regarding her West India colonies and the suppression of the slave trade, had tended to diminish slavery in the aggregate. With the opposite testimony now before us, we can hardly expect this. The true friends of the slave will grieve to come to this opinion; but however painful, however mortifying it may be, it is better to adopt it, and study some other mode of giving freedom to the African race, than abide by it to the greater detriment of human beings already so grievously oppressed.

IMMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

The West Indians have for several years been most earnest in their endeavors to secure the immigration of free laborers from abroad, insisting that thus only could the prosperity of the colonies be ensured. They are beginning to change their views. A Mr. McQueen, a zealous partizan of the planters, in the first of a series of letters, which he is addressing to Lord Stanley in the columns of the London Morning Herald, says, that immigration is, "when the expense and all its probable consequences are considered, terrific to contemplate, with very doubtful success." The Morning Herald itself concludes a leading article on the subject thus:—

"Such have been the steps taken and the course adopted by this country to preserve our tropical colonies, and to restore their prosperity; and *in these senseless proceedings six precious years have been lost*, and the destruction of the colonies been rendered all but complete, while the commercial preponderance and prosperity of the empire have been endangered. *Such are the results of attending to ignorant and interested counsellors, and of that listlessness and apathy displayed in everything, either in the torrid zone, or that is connected with it in this country. Had one twelvemonth of the time thus lost been occupied judiciously and energetically amongst the emancipated population of the British colonies, to teach them their duty to their country and to themselves, all would have been well, the colonies would have been flourishing, their produce ample and profitable, and additional laborers unnecessary.*"

SLAVE-TRADE-SUPPRESSION TREATIES.

If protocols and Parliamentary speeches, hard words and diplomatic correspondence, could put down the slave-trade, it would have been suppressed long ago; but facts show that it is, and the speeches of Lord Palmerston and Sir Robert Peel that it is likely to continue, as brisk as ever, in despite of these weapons. It is clear from Lord Palmerston's own statement that, though the personal character of one Governor threw a damp on slave-trade speculation in Cuba for a brief interval, the passion broke out with fresh vigour under his successor. It is evident that the gross amount of the slave trade has, notwithstanding that temporary check in one quarter, scarcely varied from year to year. The slave trade treaties, and hence the slave trade squadrons have not sensibly checked the slave trade. Sir Robert Peel boasts that a mere efficient system of operations is to be directed against it; but he can only quote the favourable opinions of three naval heroes, who devised, or who are to be employed in, the new plan of attack. The involuntary revelations by Lord Palmerston and Sir Robert Peel, of the constant danger to which the slave trade treaties expose us were equally striking. Both attempted to show the irritable state of the public mind in France and America, towards this country was not excited by the slave trade treaties and negotiations *alone;* but neither could deny that they were important ingredients in the dose of provocation. Each laboured hard to shift from his own shoulders to those of his antagonist the blame of contributing the other ingredients; but the operation of this one was not denied. Brazil and Spain are hostile to the treaties for the suppression of the slave trade; France and America are kept by them in a state of unintermitting inascibility; and not one maritime power but England can be said to be positively friendly to them. It is nothing new to learn that these treaties are impotent for good and fertile in evil; but it is something to have this truth demonstrated by the set speeches of two rival Ministers, each striving to demonstrate that he is the

warmest supporter of the system. How long is the country to persist in this costly and dangerous child's play? In so far as slavery and the slave trade are concerned, we have washed our hands of them. We have emancipated our slaves, and imposed penalties upon all British subjects convicted of dabbling in slave speculations. We have found that neither by force nor by negotiation can we induce all our neighbours to follow our example. Are we to go on forever wasting means and energies in efforts that lead to nothing? It will be wiser henceforth to tread our own path regardless of others—to mind our own business, keep our own hands clean, and leave our neighbours to take care of their interests and mend their morals after their own fashion. If our way is the right one—if, as we doubt it not, it is recommended alike by benevolence and enlightened self-regard—other nations will in time be glad to follow our example.—*Spectator*.

(From the Presbyterian of the West.)

AFRICAN SLAVERY.

It is estimated by Dr. Skinner, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Africa, that the whole number of slaves on that continent is not less than 50,000,000. Dr. Goheen, a missionary of the same church, makes a larger estimate, and states as a well known fact, that in Western Africa, *nine tenths* of the whole population are in a state of slavery. The females are all sold at an early age, to be, when they grow up, wives or beasts of burden, as their proprietors may require. And nowhere in the world is the slave subjected to such rigorous despotism. In the countries of Dahomer and Ashantee, when a king dies, hundreds of slaves are put to death on his grave as an offering; and when a slave-holder dies, a number of slaves are put to death, to wait on him in the other world. At the death of the late Ashantee king, about 1,000 persons perished. And not only does slavery exist in Africa in its most horrid forms, but that continent is the common mart of slavery for the world. Buxton estimates the whole number of slaves annually exported, at 475,000. For the eastern trade, 100,000 are annually required. The Imaum of Muscat transports every year about 30,000, Barbary and Egypt about 20,000, loss on seizure, 25,000, loss on detention and march on the middle passage across the country and in seasoning, 25,000. For the Western trade 375,000 are annually seized, but only about 120,000 are actually transported into slavery. Of the number seized, 30,000 are murdered, 225,000 are lost in seizure, detention, march and middle passage. The 120,000 who survive, are enslaved in Spanish West Indies, Brazil, Texas, &c. Upwards of 50,000 are annually imported into Brazil. In all those countries which create the western trade, including the United States, the whole number of Africans in slavery is estimated at 8,000,000; add to this the number enslaved in eastern countries, and still it falls far short of the actual amount of slavery existing in Africa itself. The slavery of the United States is but as the small dust of the balance, compared with what exists elsewhere; and its character, even in its worst forms, is mild in comparison with the abject servitude to which the poor negro is subjected, in the countries where the wholesome restraints of religion are not felt. Let the evil be purged from our midst, and still the work of emancipation is but just commenced. Africa still remains the great market for human beings; and the chains of bondage still bind at least *fifty* millions of her sons at home. How shall poor Africa be redeemed, that Ethiopia may be brought to stretch out her hands to God? And vassals long enslaved, both by man and Satan, become freemen, civilly and religiously. Guard the coast, and

overthrow the slave factories, and the water transportation ceases; but the inland transportation still remains, and above all, domestic slavery, with all its horrors, continues more aggravated than ever, by the fact that the foreign demand has partially ceased. The gospel is the only effectual remedy. Though commercial arrangements may, in some degree, mitigate the evil, yet they cannot overthrow it. So long as self-interest, unrestrained by religion, is the ruling passion in the bosom of African slave-holders, oppression will be the medium by which they will seek its gratification. The missionary enterprise is the main hope of benighted Africa; this must be supported and protected from the hostile machinations of slave-dealers and slave-holders, or the redemption of Africa can never be effected. Perhaps the colonial plan of the Moravians is the most effectual method of guarding against the destructive intrigues of such men, who are continually scouring the countries, and stirring up the jealousies of the natives against the lonely and unprotected missionary. Let missionary colonies of civilized and christianized blacks be formed, whose constitutions are more congenial with the climate than that of whites, not only on the coast, but in every accessible and eligible point in the interior, by which both the arts and religion of civilized men shall be brought to bear effectually upon the natives, and, if I mistake not, the work of christianizing Africa will be carried forward with an efficiency, which it otherwise can never attain. A. S.

(For the Colonization Journal.)

It is alledged by our friends in the eastern parts of the States that the right of property in slaves having been originally acquired by fraud and violence, is not valid. I willingly and heartily accord my belief to this allegation, for it would accomplish all that I could wish, or ask for my race, but I am compelled to acknowledge, that this admission proves too much for those who adduce it, for there are many plantations and houses in the eastern section of the States that were bought with money made in the slave trade. If a title once *vitiated* remains imperfect, the principle is equally applicable to every species of property. I remember to have seen a proposal in the public prints, by slave holders, to furnish a slave worth $300, against every $100 raised from the property I have mentioned; if this offer had been met, it would have rescued many of us.

Again, it is objected that Colonization will require a long lapse of time to effect the object. The length of time is uncertain. It may, I hope it will be, less than the chosen people were, in Egyptian bondage. Time should always be considered in connection with the nature and magnitude of the object in view. The solar year is correctly applied to the age, or life of individual man, but "years are but the days of generations." And when we speak of man in a congregated state, and with reference to his successors, a difference should be used; time should then be measured by an extended cycle, or by the precession of the equinox. We are speaking of nations, and in the continuity of duration, in which 1000 years are but as one day, a few hundred years would appear trifling, that may elapse between our abduction, and return. Our return will not be like the Israelites, with flocks and herds, but we shall carry with us *knowledge, science* and *religion*—treasures of far greater value. Lott Carey.

[From the New World.]

THE LIBERIAN EMIGRANT'S SONG.

BY JAMES MACKEY.

Our skin is dark and we are slaves,
The bondsmen of a fairer race;
But, in our home across the waves,
The color of a negro's face
Permits him to become as free
As the palest son of liberty.

'Tis strange—and yet it costs us dear,
If to our sufferings we look back,
That thus the white man should appear
A nobler being than the black.
Our fathers were of princely blood,
And we can trace them to the flood.

Where did the sun of Science rise?
Where did astronomy unfold
The wonders of the sparkling skies
To all the world in days of old?
Ay, strike magician, strike thy wand,
And conjure up my Father-land!

We know that many nations deem
Antiquity a noble thing;
And it has ever been a theme
That patriot-bards delight to sing.
But the negro dares not claim his due,
As other men are proud to do.

They plucked us from our parent stem,
And sold us captives where they would;
For evil it was meant by them,
But God shall turn it into good:
And Africa may now be blest
With truth reflected from the west.

Of all the forms that mind can trace,
By thought creative, none to me
So beauteous as the Godlike face
Of undisguised philanthropy.
Of pure religion undefiled,
She is the single-hearted child.

Liberia! let thy sun go forth
With fredom's banner waving high;
Let piety exalt thy worth,
And deck their memory when they die
That all the earth may join to raise
A christian harmony of praise.

America shall hear a voice
Of gratitude across the sea;
The negro mother shall rejoice
To nurse the little children free,
And tell them how the whites began
To elevate the colored man!

NEW YORK.

OUR ANNUAL EXPEDITION.

The first day of November is fixed upon as usual, for the sailing of the fall expedition, and we are now able very nearly to estimate the results of the past eight months labour of our travelling agent.

The *canvass*, (to use a current term in these times, and we can find none better,) between him and the emissaries of abolitionism has been a tedious and warm one. Attended by Major Wood of Cape Palmas he has visited every county on the Eastern Shore, together with Harford, attended by appointment various public meetings, and conversed freely with the free colored people in private. To every candid man, every sincere lover of truth, and every true friend of his own race, the statements of Major Wood respecting the colony and its inhabitants, based on sixteen years residence in Africa, have carried conviction of the utility and humanity of the scheme of colonization. But there is a class which no arguments or facts can affect or influence; the wiseacres, the plantation and village black *lawyers*, a majority of the preachers, and the correspondents of northern abolitionists, who maintain an undeserved influence over the more sober and industrious; with such nothing can be done. They know all about Liberia, Georgia, Big Snakes and African fever; they are kept posted up by such men as Torry, Garrison & Co. and their Baltimore colored agents, with all anti-colonization arguments. The conceit and insolence of these men, proved entirely too much for the patience and equanimity of Major Wood, and he declares, as has every other Liberian who has visited America, that no circumstances could induce him ever again to urge the coloured people of Maryland to emigrate. Notwithstanding all the annoyances experienced from this source, however, the visit of Major Wood to this country has been productive of much good. Independent of those who have concluded to emigrate the present season, many have been induced to take the matter into serious consideration, and have determined at once to set about extricating themselves from circumstances which now bind them to this country, and prepare to emigrate at some future period. Although it is not probable that the expedition will be as large as the two last preceding, yet any deficiency of numbers will be more than compensated for, by the character and standing of the emigrants; many of whom are well educated for their class, have a high reputation for industry, integrity and mental capacity. Let it be recollected by all who have entered their names, and all friends of the cause, interested in any who are to emigrate this season, that the vessel will positively sail on the 1st of November.

TERMS.

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